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THE NEW AGE

VOL. I AUGUST & SEPTEMBER 1934 NOS 3 & 4

THE DAWN OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

By

Ramanik V. Mehta, B.Sc.

Under barbarism the unit of production was the individual. Thereafter under the later stages, the productive enterprises were based on larger and larger production by employing greater and greater number of workers. The individual or small group of individuals, having not efficient means of production and hence not being able to bring forth large scale production, could not compete in the open markets with the business class and therefore they have or had to give up their handicrafts—cottage industry—and their small and crude machines. In this way, they were rendered without tools and hence the only alternative for them was to seek employment at the machines in lands of this owning class. Thus began the selling and purchasing of labour power. The owning class naturally gave first job to the lowest bidder. Ultimately, this ownership resulted into the form of landlordism and job ownership. This brought in two classes in society, one the capitalist class who owns certain means of production and the second class who work with these means to wit, the society has been and is divided into propertied and propertyless mass of manual and intellectual worker since the dissolution of primitive tribal communism based upon the common ownership of land and other things. Thus it is this economic division between the working and the owning class—the slaves and their masters, serfs and landlords, workers and employers—that is responsible for a class division of society. The owning class because it owns certain types of productive property, gets the most and the best of the production without any labour and leaves or gives a crumb to the real producer—the proletariat—that hardly suffices for the bare necessaries of his life. The meagre consideration that the male worker gets compels even his wife and child to go to the factories to support themselves. The owning class, really speaking the parasitical class does not stop here. To the ill-luck of the worker, it appropriates the whole of the

surplus value to itself. The labourer whether manual or intellectual does not consume what he or she produces. Also this bourgeois class is always after more and more profit and this can only be acquired by reducing the wages and increasing the hours of work. With the increased efficiency of the machine the number of workers will be lessened. In this way, bourgeoisie exploit the workers of their labour power. The working class, on its part, will naturally strive for higher wages and reduction in the hours of work. Thus the interests of both these classes are not only diametrically opposite but also conflicting. The bourgeosie, under the plea of safeguarding their vested interests, use every possible means to perpetuate their hold and to continue the status quo whereby the exploitation may be continued. This class though in a microscopic minority in society has all the favourable means at its disposal to curb the working class and to keep it under its domination. It has not only captured economic fields but has captured political, social and religious fields. Today the capitalists control all the sources of food, clothing and other necessaries of life and therefore the propertyless class is at their entire mercy. At times, when the markets fail or when there is a war between two or more capitalist states for markets or some other like cause the working mass is nowhere. The press, the schools, the Universities, Churches etc., are mostly controlled and guided by them. The training in these institutions is given in a way that makes the student believe in the divine right to unlimited private property and in the rule of the wealthy because they are rich. This idea or teaching that is injected in the minds of the students, is naturally transferred to the ignorant masses partly through religion and in this way, capitalist class has duped and is duping the masses. On the other hand the appaling poverty of the working class has degraded its economic position to such a low level that it is surviving as if to see its own miserable death in working for its employers. It lives a slum life-half starved half clad under the constant fear of unemployment.

These and the like circumstances, have brought into the field, during the last few years, a new force—the organised labour movement. This movement aims at the abolition of exploitation of one class by the other which can only be achieved by making and declaring every source of exploitation to be the social property. The past war period has greatly increased a pressure in this direction throughout the world and particularly in the industrialised countries. This labour movement has three chief forms viz., (1) Trade Unionism; (2) Co-operative movement; (3) Political working class parties.

Trade Union movement aims at protecting the member on the job and strives for the reduction in hours of work and increase

in wages. Co-operative movement aims at putting the means of production into the hands of the actual workers and thus protect the working class from being exploited of its labour power. Its ideal is that men will no longer produce for the profit of a few but for the use of all producers. The last and the most important form—the political labour movement aims at capturing the political machinery for the exploited from the class of exploiters which is today controlling for its own class benefit. The working class has now realised that without its control of the state machinery, the state of the workers will not be ameliorated. Besides these, there is a movement to start labour schools, press etc., to educate the workers in this direction and to develop the growing class — consciousness among them.

Thus this organised labour movement will place the Society on a new economic basis. This will bring equality and Justice in Society. It will guarantee at least the living wage and better living conditions for all which are now guaranteed to a few as the socialisation of industry will introduce a new basis for livelihood. It will bring equal opportunities to all that are now monopolised by a few. The start that the child of the worker gets in life will depend not primarily upon the status that its parent holds in Society but primarily up on the aptitude of the child. It will form a world society instead of the present existing local social unit. Modern society exhibits some signs in this direction. The trade unionism, co-operative societies, the political labour movement in most of the countries and International Federation of Trade Unions, Worker's Internationals, the international banking enterprises etc., on the international lines are the healthy sign of the present society changing or transferring itself into a new form though slowly but steadily. These signs are the harbingers of the coming New Social Order. The present period appears to be a transition period as we find the characteristics of the present and the following periods in juxtaposition. The new social order is developing in the womb of the present society and thus the human race is evolving a new order with its new culture—an order that has never existed till now.

ONE THING AND ANOTHER

By

A. Picklay.

To be or not to be ? That is the question. The depression is at its worst. Trade is bad and figures of import and export are falling at a tremendous rate. But the imports of the unwanted, the unemployed and the undesirables are not diminishing. They are rather increasing steadily by all signs either visible or invisible.

Unemployment as every one knows is the crux of the problem. There are either no jobs to be had or there are jobs which one cannot do.

Then, employers are getting pretty cheeky. Formerly, this was not so. They were as kind to their employees as parents to their children. But now, it is all changed. Exploitation is getting rampant. The employer knows his advantage and can afford to be unsympathetic. And why should he not ? For every vacancy there is a whole rabble of applicants scrambling for the job and falling disgracefully one over the other.

Would you call that encouraging ? Recently, a businessman of some sorts wanted a typist on twenty rupees a month. He advertised only once in a paper and got nearly four hundred applications. It took him nearly a month to go through them and another month to make up his mind.

There were nearly a hundred B. A.'s, about fifty M.A's and a sprinkling of foreign qualifications. The large body of non-matriculates made up for their disqualifications with short hand and commercial diplomas. Speaking confidentially however, a great many employees today are in as good as or as bad a position as their employees. Very often, it is the latter who are the better off of the two. For, while the employer has to face trade depression, ratio problems and financial worries, the principal anxiety of the employee is to receive his monthly wages at the earliest possible date. But it is fashionable all the same to talk of exploitation and that kind of thing, if you understand what I mean.

And while I am on the subject, does any one realise how the respective positions of Master and servant have changed of late.

Formerly, you could get any number of servants to work for you. In fact, in some families, the household duties have been handed over from father to son for several generations of servants. Now, this is unheard of and it is an extraordinary piece of good luck if you can get a servant to stick to you for more than a month. Most servants get tired of their masters before the week is over, and if "extra" earnings are not satisfactory they give a prompt notice during the second week and leave within twenty-four hours.

I do not remember how many servants I have had in all. But I knew this much that more than

half the number managed to receive their payment in advance so that when they left with whatever valuables they could conveniently lay their hands upon they had not to trouble themselves about giving a regular notice.

As far those who could not get any money in advance, they had periodic deaths in their families which almost recurred with clock-like precision, necessitating their immediate departure with payment in full, and I have often wondered why people should lose their grandmothers and aunts when they are only a few days in my service!

And as if servants are not quite enough to create worries for a man, there are "friends" of whom there is any number, who are ever ready to respond to the slightest invitation or even come uninvited. This species of humanity not only makes quick work of whatever can be had for cash or credit but discloses a strong disposition to borrow money at the slightest opportunity.

Now, borrowing is quite the respectable thing to do. Even governments and emperors have debts to pay and float new loans pretty frequently. But to make a habit of never repaying them is the height of criminal intent.

I do not wish to claim by this that I am free from the debtors' worries. I have quite a number of loans to pay. But they have been most deservedly raised to fill the holes made by one's friends' extravagances. And if a few persons pay for what a good many enjoy, and borrowing is just the fashion, I do not see any reason why, I should personally bother to increase my burden by endeavouring to repay the loans.

Moreover, since paying friends are getting scarce and the number of the improvident is ever on the increase, I have lately got into a chronic habit of borrowing money with the desired effect. And I am happy to say that my experiment has been so fruitful of results that many of the pests that formerly beset me have voluntarily left me as the bees leave the stale flowers! I am still, however, feeling disgusted with life in general and the ways of the world in particular.

Only the other day, an automobile agent sold me a second-hand car which from its fresh paint and jaunty appearance looked like a perfect bargain. But the bargain seems to be going against me.

From the day that I acquired it, I have had one trouble after another. First I had to engage a driver, and most drivers being what they are, you can imagine the burden my blessed rocker is called upon to carry. Then I have discovered that the car though painted bright is really old and obstinate, and developes one new complaint on the average everyday. It consumes two gallons to a mile and if I continue its present patrol rations, I might as well keep a white elephant or a rolls-royce.

At the present moment, the car is lying in a deserted condition at the crossroads and I am content to let it lie there till somebody steals or adopts it and I fervently hope that the police will not bother to discover its lost owner!

THE LIFE OF KARL MARX

3 In Paris and Brussels

The publication of the Franco-German Annual, it was remarked, was the beginning of Marx's active revolutionary career. Its issue was significant in other respects as well. For one thing, it afforded Marx a forum entirely his own, from which he could speak out fearlessly and unrestrained his views on the social problem, saving, of course, the limitations of the law. Such an independent forum was very necessary, and as soon as Marx had it, he began to give out his revolutionary views, uncurtailed by any "abhorred shears except those of his own acute and critical mind. It was in one of the articles to the annual that Marx first showed his break from Hegelianism by subjecting Hegel's views on the state and law to a "ruthless criticism." Fifteen years later Marx referred to this article in his preface to the 'Critique of Political Economy' as representing the nucleus of his later works, these, in fact, were elaborations and proofs of the views stated in it.

Apart from this, the Franco-German Annual has another historic significance. Among the contributors to the first issue of the Annual (the first was also the last) was one by a young German living in Manchester named Frederich Engels. This ingenious critical essay on economic categories (as Marx said of it later) impressed Marx very much and when Engels came to see him in Paris, their meeting was the beginning of a life-long friendship, in which their common devotion to the revolutionary cause was not the least binding factor. Regarding the friendship which existed between Marx and Engels, Lenin wrote, on the death of Engels in 1895: "Old legends tell of touching examples of friendship. The European proletariat can say that its science was created by two scholars and protagonists whose relations excel all the touching tales of ancient times concerning human friendship."

The collaboration of Marx and Engels began at once. While Marx was in Paris, the Holy Family' was produced in collabotation with Engels. This book criticised in a scathing manner the idealist philosophy of Bruno Baner and his adherents.

At the same time, Marx published several articles against the Prussian Government in the German paper Vorhearts, which was then being printed in Paris. Each succeeding article was more revolutionary and uncompromising than its predecessor. In addition to this, Marx was spreading his activities among the masses. The Prussian Government alarmed at this spread of revolutionary doctrines among the masses, induced the French Government to expel Marx from France. On February 2, 1845, Marx moved to Brussels. The shift, however, marked no change in his revolutionary activi-

ties. Only the centre changed; the objective and the zeal remained unaltered.

His work in Brussels was of considerable importance at that moment. He continued his intensive study of the social process with unabated vigour, leavened as it was by intimate contact with the working class movement. He elaborated further the doctrines of scientific communism, while simultaneously exposing the pitiful impotance of Utopian Socialism, which was then rampant in such a strange variety of forms. Summarising the theoretical work of Marx and Engels during this period, Lenin wrote: The Utopians dreamed of socialism without a struggle. They looked upon the proletariat as a sore and nothing else, and watched with horror the spread of this sore with the growth of industry. They all turned their thoughts, therefore, to the question of how to stop the development of industry and the proletariat, how to bring the wheel of history to a standstill. In contrast to this universal tenor of the growth of the proletariat, Marx and Engels based all their hopes upon the continuous growth of the proletariat. The more proletarians there were, the greater would be their strength as a revolutionary class, the nearer, and more possible would be socialism. In brief, the service rendered by Marx and Engels can be expressed as follows: they taught the working class to know itself, to be conscious of itself and to put science in the place of dreams."

In 1845-46, Marx and Engels, while in Brussels, wrote their great book 'German Ideology'. This work suffered strange vicissitudes. Bourgeois publishers refused to undertake its publication and when the manuscripts came to the hands of Kantsky and others of the Socialist International, they—true to their salt—kept them unpublished. It was only after the Bolsheviks got hold of the manuscripts did this great work see the light of day. Only in 1932, nearly ninety years after its writing, was it published by the Marx-Engels Lenin Institute of Moscow.

In 'German Ideology' Marx relentlessly criticised all contemporary German philosophy. Besides being a brilliant work on contemporary German idealism, the book contains the first detailed analysis of Marx's doctrine of social Revolution. Marx Brussel's period was a period of very fruitful and intensive activity. After the completion of the great work on 'German Ideology,' Marx produced in 1847 'The Poverty of Philosophy'—a work which in sheer polemical writing is unrivalled. It was written in reply to the socialist Proudhon, who had submitted at an unfortunate moment his book entitled 'The Philosophy of Poverty' for a personal and detailed criticism by Marx. Proudhon got very much more than he bargained for. Marx exposed the fallacies, the vagueness and the confusions of Proudhon's arguments so completely that he made him appear ridiculous and fantastic, as he certainly was. Proudhon had become famous after the publicarion of his book 'What is property?' in which he showed that property was theft. But

most of his ideas were crude. He opposed trade unions, strikes, workers' participation in the political struggle, and equal rights for women. History has made Proudhan's 'philosophy' a joke. Marx with great historical foresight made Proudhon himself a joke.' 'The Poverty of Philosophy' tore into shreds the Philosophy of Poverty.'

Organization of the Communist League

Marx's activities in Brussels were not confined to literary work alone. It could not be. The man who was burning to enter in the strife even as a student and who, further was armed with a scientific revolutionary doctrine, was not to be expected to evade the logic of his own philosophy by remaining passive to the dynamic events happening before him. consequently, we find him organising in the beginning of 1846, the communist correspondence committee, with the object of propagating the scientific principles of communism among the working men. The committee began with a centre in Brussels, but in a few months a similar committee was organised in London by the League of the just and the Workers' Educational society in London, at the instance of Marx. A year later Marx convened a congress (the first of its kind) of communist organisations in London. The aim was to reorganize the League of the just (which was mainly composed of German immigrant workers) as the communist League, so as to make the organisatisn a truly revolutionary one. In this task of reorganisation in guiding the activities of the new communist League, Engels was the main collabaratory of Marx. The League published its own organ "communist journal"—a paper which was the first to acquaint the working class with revolutionary ideas in a novel and entirely different form from what they were accustomed to. For instance instead of the pious "pretty—bourgeois" slogan of "All men are brethren," the new journal of Marx and Engels displayed the challenging motto. "Working men of all countries, unite !" In the place of sentimental references to the oneness of mankind, the golden future before humanity and the Dawn of a New society through the doctrine of universal Love, Marx and Engels urged the workingmen to realise the class-nature of existing social system, the inherent conflicts implied in it and the need for revolutionary action, if the workingmen were to play their true historical roles as the class which would liberate all mankind for ever from the shackles of wage slavery and exploitation. In one of the articles which appeared in the first issue of the communist journal they state; "We are not the sort of communists who preach eternal peace at the moment when our adversaries are everywhere preparing for battle." Every time of the new journal was a call for battle—but not for anarchic revolt. It was a call for organised, intelligent revolution,—a revolution informed with the scientific idea of Marxian Communism a revolution objectives of which comprised all the highest ideals of humanity.

THREE YEARS OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

By "Don"

[In Spain the forces of fascism, are moving with rapid strides. Recently the Lerroux Government, in preparing its armed fascist group, granted amnesty to the monarchist and counter-revolutionary forces within the country and in exile, while retaining working class prisoners in jail. The cabinet was forced out, and the Lerroux Government draped itself with the mask of a "Left" republican minister. The working masses in Spain, rapidly growing and gaining influence, are entering into tremendous battles against fascism. Recently there have been numerous demonstrations against fascism. The following article reviewing the three years of the Spanish republic is particularly timely].

The 14th of April, the three-year mark was passed since the Spanish monarchy fell and the republic was instituted. It was baptized in its constitution as "the Republic of working men of all classes."

Until about the end of 1931 the ruling classes the upper bourgeoisie and the big land-owners utilized the petty bourgeois parties, in particular the Social Democratic party, as instruments of power. The new upswing of the revolutionary movement of the large mass of workers in city and province, and their disappointment over the republic which also included the petty-bourgeoisie of the city forced the ruling classes to change tactics.

At the end of 1931 the so-called Juridical Republican parties stepped out of the Government, as the radicals did under the leadership of Lerroux, who represent the interests of finance capital and the foreign concessionaries, or as the Progressives under the leadership of Zamora, who represent the capitalist land-owners, or as the Conservatives, under the leadership of Maura. There only remains in the government the "leftist Republican parties"; Socialists, Radical Socialists, Republican Action, Catalonian Right, Galician Republicans.

Reaction Strengthened

These parties, in power until September, 1933, contributed little or nothing towards the solution of the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

On the principal question, which is agrarian, they confined themselves to the acceptance of a restricted agrarian reform, through which, by the end of 1933 only 40,000 hectares of land

were expropriated from the nobles in favor of 5,000 peasants. In Spain there are 2½ million landless agricultural workers, and from 1 to 1½ million poor peasants. At the same time, peonage in small hamlets remained untouched.

With regard to the Catholic Church the government only under mass pressure took action toward the dissolution of the Jesuit order, toward the restriction of a number of church rights on the question of supervision, and to the gradual abolition of state subsidies. After that, during the time of the Republic, in the year 1931, 65 million pesetas were paid to the church. In the year 1932, 42 million, in the year 1933, 42 million, and not until 1934 were the subsidies withdrawn.

The national question is still unsolved, unless we consider the granting of a shred of autonomy in the shape of the so-called, "statutes" to Catalonia (whereby all measures like finance, taxation, the military, etc., continue to remain in the hands of Madrid). The Basque provinces and Galicia, however, are still waiting in vain for their "statutes."

Conditions Grow Worse

At the same time the economic and social conditions of the broad masses of workers grew incessantly worse in the course of the three years of the Republic. Whereas, the "Leftist Republican" governments sabotaged the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the forces of the revolution and the forces of the open counter-revolution armed themselves for the struggle. Under these circumstances the proletariat became the focus of all discontented forces under the growth of general disappointment with the Republic which in addition included the petty bourgeois masses.

At the head of the Juridical parties is the CEDA (Conferation Espanola de Derechas Automas) that is, the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights) which was founded in the beginning of 1933 through the fusion of a whole series of Junker, clerical, and Fascist organizations. The most important political nucleus of the CEDA is formed by the young party of the greater land-owners, and of big finance capital, the Action Popular (Popular Action), whose leader is Gil Robles of Salamanca.

In April, 1933 re-elections took place in numerous communities. In September of 1933 the elections of the so-called Tribunal for constitutional guarantees were held. In both cases the "Leftist" parties suffered a defeat and in both cases the right wingers, in particular, the CEDA, gained a victory. Therefore, the reaction decided to come out in open attack. The Socialist ministers were expelled from the government and replaced by representatives of the Centrist radical parties, whose leader, Lerroux, stepped to the head of the new government.

In the ensuing parliamentary elections a strong polarization of forces came to light. On the one hand the Communist party scored great advances, in that it increased its vote from 60,000 in the year 1931 to 400,000, and for the first time won seats in Parliament. The "Left" parties suffered complete defeat; of 291 mandates they saved only 98. The Centrist parties, including the radicals, scored a few gains. The "Rights" with the CEDA at the head climbed from 42 to 212 mandates. of which 114 fell to the lot of the CEDA, which therefore became the strongest faction. This occurrence can be partly explained through the campaigning of the relative majority, partly through electioneering terror, selling of votes, miscounting, and finally through the campaigning of the "Rights," particularly in the villages.

Lerroux is paving the way for open fascism. Already the question of the "reform of agrarian reform," in particular the question of reapportionment of a part of confiscated parcels of land, has officially been repudiated. The re-apportionment of church possessions and the reinstatement of its supervisional rights are forecast. Amnesty for the minister of the monarchy as well as of the insurrectionist monarchist generals is being prepared. The price of bread and other food stuffs was raised at the demand of the land-owners. At the end of February the "left radicals" (Barrios) were ousted from the cabinet.

The government exercises repressive methods and terror. First it declares "a state of alarm" and later announces "a state of siege." Locals of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions were closed down and their newspapers suppressed. For capital crimes, capital punishment was instituted. General strikes were declared illegal. Already court-marshals are being introduced.

Among the masses there is an elemental drive for the united front, which, in many places is carried out along with the local leaders of the socialists or over their heads.

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THE RECONSTRUCTED WORLD

By

P. S. Sitarama Iyer, B.A.

The inexorable march of events cannot be arrested by any kind of concrete legislation designed to set the world in order, from drifting into financial collapse unless the intellectual equipment of nations is galvanised and energised by statesmanlike vision and political prescience as to the ultimate values and ends for which the state exists. The world's total volume of trade is being diminished by national restrictions in the shape of tariffs and preferential concessions and most favoured-nation treatment with a view to maintain financial equilibrium. How long the temporary adjustments made by nations affected by the crisis, can lead to the permanent overhauling of the system of credit and the stability of exchange is not easy to speculate under the present circumstances of world depression and trade stagnation caused by the post-war problems of an international character requiring closest scrutiny and severe critical examination from the political as well as the financial aspects. Many countries have abandoned their gold-standard and established managed currencies with a view to avoid the consequences of falling prices and rapid mutations of exchange and maintain their commercial solidarity and comparative financial stability from crumbling into ruins. It will be a matter of common wisdom if the countries now off the gold-standard concert and co-operate to promote such measures and means as to keep their managed currencies well-nigh within the limits dictated by international policy and reason as to facilitate the movement of trade and stability of values from undergoing oscillations and causing economic embarrassments. Much more can be done by governmental action and banking institutions all over the countries affected by depression of by increasing credit facilities, avoidance of metallic currency and reduction of tariffs save for revenue purposes. None can deny the indubitable value of the dictum that the maintenance of stability of internal prices is dependent on the healthy banking system which serves the national purposes by controlling production and distribution and by a timely orientation of currency policy suited to the requirements of a situation created by irrepressible forces of financial actions and reactions snd trade depression.

There is another question of far reaching import and significance connected with the present problem with which the world is faced and struggling for a sane solution, namely the settlement of reparation and war debts and granting of foreign loans. If these are adjusted without any detriment to the interests of parties concerned in a spirit of compromise and well-merited reconciliation by the financial committee of the League, and the Bank of International

Settlements and a Board of financial experts in which all elements are represented, the lamentable violence caused to the course of trade can be so averted as to ensure stability of values. The world is so constituted that no country can be self-supporting and economically self-sufficient without being dependent upon other countries for the supply of raw materials and manufactured goods. The formation of an International commercial syndicate in which all national chambers of commerce are represented is a desideratum in view of the economic functioning of society on the basis of economic doctrines of demand and supply and settlement of obligations between creditor and debtor countries.

Before any effective international action is launched with a view to revive the monetary policy and free trade movement, the problem of political animosities and feelings of rancour remains to be solved as between the countries involved in the settlements of obligations and debts. The efforts of the disarmament conference and the various pacts to end war and make the world safe for democracy and peace connot be underrated. The world requires a breathing time out of the throes of financial convulsion and political bouleversements, to get itself set on the road to peace and plenty. Whether the gold standard is to come back or not is not a national question to be solved by national experts but purely a matter of international concern to be decided by a board of financial experts in whom entire confidence is to be reposed. Their solution should be final and binding. The system of foreign credit should be so regulated and shaped, if it is to ensure the confidence of the countries. Already the national economic councils have been doing appreciable work, so far as national policies are concerned and the formation of an International Economic Council in which all national economic councils are represented cannot be a distant ideal. The central banks which constitute the very crux and pivot of financial machinery in all countries should be delegated with powers to increase or diminish the circulating medium and expand credit facilities in proportion to the requirements of national exigencies and should command unstinted public confidence and faith in its wide operations. All reserves accumulated out of extensive operations should be transmitted to the Bank of International settlements, for granting loans to countries which need them, with a view to maintain what is fittingly styled as industrial and commercial parity or equipoise. There are methods and means technical and scientific to reconstruct the world on a basis of peace of elastic monetary system, of a durable system of credit under the frame work of international laws, institutions and conventions and it is for the statesmen all over the world to arrive at a common platform to adumbrate measures and carry out a policy which will ensure the progress of civilization and the arts of peace and good will.

In spite of national measures adopted by several countries to ward off the worst symptoms of

collapse and depression and other unhealthy disturbances to public tranquillity by unemployment arising out of immobility of production and fall in the purchasing power of currency values everywhere there is a spirit of discontent with the existent state of affairs and an overwhelming desire for a change which will secure a panacea for the troubles. Human comfort is standardised by a period of economic development and cannot face a modification or set-back with equanimity or resilience and return to the aeon of arcadian simplicity when civilization was in its infancy leaving man to the glories of a state of nature before he thought of a civil contract and corporate unity under a civil order supported by laws and conventions. The multiplicity of wants and cravings for social ameneties of a high order have led man to the present state of scientific and material advancement and made him devise means and methods to effect a conquest over nature.

National Industrial Democracy and Capitalism.

Capitalism which is considered to be a menace to the peace of the world has in the opinion of the wage-earning classes, arisen out of their comparative neglect and indifference to the exploitation by the richer classes who have taken undue advantage of their extreme penury and want of education and created conditions not satisfactory to both as to make harmony impossible. This feeling of mutual rancour is pacified by boards of arbitration which settle disputes and make the way smooth for the progress of industry on amicable lines. The tendency for the consolidation of the interests of capitalists on one side and the collectivist activities of wage-earners on the other with different angles of thought and different conceptions of justice are increasingly felt in every country; and the introduction of a co-operative commonwealth in which the proportion of income is wisely distributed, is suggested to be a remedial expedient in preference to the socialization of the instruments of production or nationalization of industries which are not free from the flaws with which capitalism is castigated by judicial minded critics. Any system has its own inherent defects. What can be done to ameliorate the present condition of the working classes is not by any hasty and sweeping legislation but by gradual and increasing association of them in the management of staple industries. In the reconstructed order, what is anticipated is increasing governmental interference in every sphere of economic activity as to make the economic machinery of the society function to the advantage of both the capitalists and the employed. Much more depends on individual initiative and confidence engendered by an enlightened view of the prospects and purposes of a civilized existence.

DICTATORSHIP AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

By

Francis Williams

Dictators—whatever else they may or may not do—have a habit of making an unconscionable mess of their countries' international trade.

That fact, patent for some time to the curious observer of world trading developments, is underlined by a statistical survey of international trade included by the Bank of England in its latest Statistical Summary.

The two countries whose international trade provides the worst showing in a survey which covers 16 nations are Italy and Germany.

For the purpose of tracing the trend of both import and export trade the monthly average for 1929 is taken at 100.

We then find on the import side while the volume of Britain's import trade has fallen from 100 in 1929 to 61 in the first quarter of the present year, that of France to 46, and that of Sweden to 65, Germany's import trade is down to 34 and Italy's to 38.

On the export side the volume of British trade has fallen to 52, that of French trade and that of Sweden to 53, while German export trade is down to 35 and the index of Italian export trade is only 34. Both in their import and export trades Italy and Germany have therefore suffered much more than other European nations.

Another interesting fact to be drawn from the survey is that, as might be expected, the European countries which have stuck to gold have suffered much worse than those which have left the Gold Standard.

Thus the import trade of the three principal European non-gold countries—Great Britain, Denmark and Sweden—stands at 61, 67 and 65 respectively, and their export trade at 55, 64 and 53.

The countries on the gold bloc—France, Belgium, and the Netherlands—show, on the other hand, a decline in import trade to 46, 42 and 40 respectively, and a decline in export trade to 36, 46 and 34.

Japan also as might be anticipated, shows the smallest decline in total international trade of any country, her imports being down only from 100 to 97, and her exports from 100 to 87.

Two countries, Australia and South Africa, both actually show an increase in export trade over 1929, the Australian index standing for the first quarter of this year at 109, while that of South Africa stands at 107.

The favourable position of South Africa is, of course, largely due to increased exports of gold, while that of Australia is due to the recovery of the woollen trade.

There has, however, been a substantial decline in Australian import trade, the index for which stands at 40. That of South Africa stands at 72.

Russia and U. S. A.

In Russia imports have fallen much more substantially than exports, for while imports are down by 64 per cent., exports are down only by 40 per cent. Argentina also shows a much bigger reduction in imports than in exports, for while its imports have been halved since 1929 its exports are down by only 27 per cent.

United States imports have fallen by exactly the same extent as those of Italy—38—but its export trade has fared better than the Italian, the index standing at 40.

It is also interesting to note that since Hitler came to power imports of foreign goods into Germany have actually increased, despite the Nazi philosophy of a self-supporting Germany.

But while she has had to buy more, her export trade during the same period of Nazi control has fallen more heavily than that of any other country with the sole exception of her sister in dictatorship, Italy. Dictators, one may suggest, don't pay and half-baked and somewhat less than half-witted philosophies of a noble economic seclusion do not, one may add work out in practice as their authors expect.

("*Daily Herald.*")

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RUSSIA AND THE LEAGUE

By A. G. Venkatachary.

Russia has entered the League but there was the inevitable opposition though from quarters little expected. President De Valera wanted Russia to give other nationals the same concessions she has allowed to the U. S. Citizens within her own territory. There was point in this argument but the manner and time in which it was made did little credit to this usually erstwhile and practically-minded statesman.

Switzerland, the 'home' of the League scented "Red;" she feared that this was a tactical move of Stalin to instal at Geneva, under cover of the League, the propagandist centre of the Third International driven out of Hitler's Germany. The scoffers point to Russia's revolutionary past and scent in her new move a subtle intent to foment world revolution. To attribute tactlessness to Russia, especially under the present world circumstances, when the whole of the Capitalist world is definitely arrayed against her wonderful efforts at establishing a new social order, is to ignore the fundamentals of the problem.

There are some who say that the meaning of Russia's 'change of front' is to be seen in the gathering war-clouds in the Far East. She is anxious, it is said, to secure at least her Western Front, so that she could concentrate her attentions on the Far East and circumvent the Japanese menace.

Whatever the reason or reasons attributed for Russia's entry by individuals or nations, the fact remains that her entry has strengthened the League beyond all expectations and has definitely postponed though not certainly obviated the imminent prospects of the next World War. When Japan and Germany have derided the League and Mussolini talks of it glibly and disparagingly, it is significant that the largest country in the World should have extended her hand of comradeship to a comity of nations tottering under a perennial fear of extinction. Russia ever believing in collective living, thinking and acting has only extended her communistic outlook, in a sense, to the international sphere, where she, perhaps, hopes to fight for peace collectively with other nations.

To the dialectical analyst, it ought to have been clear that Russia desires peace not only because it is absolutely necessary for the success of her socialist construction, but because peace is the inherent and fundamental characteristic of the world society she is out to establish. This is absolutely clear from the following words of Maxim Litvinoff made at a meeting of the Central Executive of the Soviet Union held at the beginning of this year. Adverting to post-war international diplomacy and the pacifist intentions of the league he said:

"One may however concede that the tendencies which are interested in the preservation of peace would seem to be gaining the upper hand in the league of Nations and probably this is the explanation of the composition of the League."

From this it ought to be clear even for the most unthinking critic that Soviet Russia has always been battling for peace and her entry is dictated not merely by personal security, but by the larger reason —her ardent desire to establish peace, in the larger interests of the werld Proletariat who look to her for succour and encouragement in their daily fight against wár-minded capitalism. She has concluded a series of non-aggression pacts with contiguous states. That Japan turned her face from a similar offer is proof enough of her intentions. The crowning achievements of Soviet diplomacy in the interests of peace have been the resumption of normal relations with the U. S. A. Consequent on the recognition of the Soviet by President Roosevelt, and her momentous and reassuring entry into the League.

The entry of Russia synchronises with a tense international situation in the Far East fraught with grave possibilities of warfare.

The big Powers have recognised that in the world situation as at present the only way of expansion of markets for every country is by war. This was the undesirable fact underlying Japan's Manchurian campaign and her present efforts at forcing her way into Mongolia. It is said that she has an eye on the Soviet far eastern territories as a possible outlet for her virile population, and in her designs she may be helped by Imperialist France and Britain who with Japan,—it is rumoured—are scheming on the eventual partitioning of China among themselves. China, anxious to preserve her integrity is said to be in alliance with the U. S. A. whose interests again in the Phillipines and Alaska are sought to be threatened by Japanese militarist ventures.

The situation in Central Europe is grave enough and needs no mention here. Under such circumstances, almost all the nations feel that Russia's entry has strengthened the cause of peace.

Barring those Imperialist powers that pay only lip homage to peace and judge others by their own intentions, other nations sincerely hoped that the U. S. S. R. which had been continuously frank and practical at the disarmament conferences would insist on acting up to the letter of the League covenant if she were to be on the League. They felt presumably and not without sufficient ground, that she would not be a party to the sort of masterly inaction over the Lytton Report on the Manchurian campaign, dictated, it is said by the trade tactics of British Imperialists and financiers, who valued peace with Japan and the consequent security of British trade in the Far East more than an honest effort at world service by implementing the League covenant. The unexampled exposure of Japan in the Lytton Report and the immediate internatio-

nal wooing of Nippon by Lombard Street, lend support to the view that after all, Britain was justified in non-interference. For if all go well with her, in the contemplated partitioning of China she would be one of the three contending partners along with France and Japan; and how could she wound the susceptibilities of Japan under the circumstances?

The entry of Russia and her possible determined stand on questions of international warfare have made member states of the League realise that they agreed to the covenant (as stated in the preamble.)

"in order to promote international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war ....by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments and by......a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another."

M. Litvinoff, soon after Soviet's admission demanded that the League council should shoulder the responsibility for the successful tackling of the disarmament question and wanted a report on the achievements hitherto effected in January, so that the League might not be accused of having forgotten the issue. This was of course, noted. But this is enough to show that Russia is going to fight and fight unflinchingly for peace.

That the Soviet had not compromised any of her fundamental creeds by her entry was made public in the opening speech of Maxim Litvinoff, who proudly introduced himself as the representative of a new social order. This affirmation must disillusion those critics who either cry hoarse against Red Imperialism, or talk of Russia in the same breath as other capitalist countries. The incontrovertible fact thus remains that the sole reason for Soviet entry into the league at this juncture is the imperative call of the World Proletariat to fight on their behalf for peace, lest they should be coerced into newer and unimaginably horrid kinds of warfare and become merely food for powder ignited against one another by the frantic madness of the fast decaying representatives of capitalism, whose diverse interests and antipathies in the art of exploitation have necessitated their being always at daggers-drawn against one another.

BOMBAY SOCIALIST MANIFESTO

The Executive Committee of the Bombay Congress Socialist Party has issued the following manifesto :—

"Mahatma Gandhi's statement laying down terms for the continuation of his leardership is in the nature of a 'Zinoviev Letter' which has drawn a red herring across the trail of the Congress and which may divert attention from the real issue facing the country, which is how best to accelerate the country's progress towards National independence. It is by that test that we propose to judge the value of the proposals put forward by Gandhiji. But, before doing so, one thing needs to be said and that is, that by coupling his suggestions with the threat to retire from Congress leadership, Gandhiji has made a free and intelligent decision on the issues raised by him impossible.

"Referring to the loyalty shown to him by the intelligentsia in the Congress, Gandhiji says in his statement:—"For me any more to draw up on this loyalty and devotion is to put undue strain upon them.' And yet that is precisely what Gandhiji is doing; for who can doubt that at the Bombay Session the real issue will be not whether the Spinning Franchise is desirable or whether 'truthfulness' should become part of the Congress creed, but whether the acceptance of these unwanted clauses in the Congress Constitution is or is not too big a price to pay for the retention of Mahatma Gandhi's leadership? We do not doubt the genuineness of Gandhiji's appeal to Congressmen to decide on the merits and 'eliminate him from their consideration'; but it is obvious that his statement has made such a decision impossible.

"An attempt has been made in certain quarters to make out that Gandhiji's proposed retirement is in view of a "Socialist menace.' There is nothing in the statement to warrant such an interpretation. All that Gandhiji says is that if and when the Socialists gain ascendancy in the Congress, he will be unable to remain in the organisation.

"At the same time, one cannot help feeling that it is unfair of Mahatma Gandhi first to have entrenched in power the moderates represented by the Congress Parliamentary Board and then to threaten to leave the Congress after a parting shot at the Socialists. His statement, in the circumstances in which it has been made, will have the effect of giving a handle to those who want to put the Congress Socialist movement in the wrong and cover their own retreat from the objective of Independence.

"Turning now to Gandhiji's proposed amendments to the Congress Constitution, the first and most important is the spinning franchise. It is also the most objectionable. Our obiection to it is based on more than one ground.

The first is the utter irrelevance of a test such as spinning yarn for membership of a political organisation striving for National Liberation. We are not concerned here with the economic value of Khaddar, but only with making its production a condition of Congress membership. The second objection to the spinning test is that it is undemocratic and is bound to make the Congress an organisation open only to those with the leisure to spin or the money to buy the requisite quantity of yarn. Facing realities and judging by our experience of 'the unashamed fraud in the observance of the Khaddar Clause,' which Gandhiji himself has found intolerable, we refuse to treat the possibility of the spinning test being genuinely observed as practical politics. We know that far from lessening the corruption for which the Khaddar Clause is already responsible, the spinning franchise will provide yet another opportunity for hypocrisy and fraud. In fact, the spinning franchise was tried after the Belgaum Congress and had to be abandoned within a few months because of the fall in Congress membership.

'Gandhiji has sought to make out that what he proposes is a 'labour franchise.' Congress Socialists would be the first to welcome a genuine labour franchise. In fact, the Party's programme included a demand for adult suffrage on a functional basis in the future Indian State, thus basing a citizen's right to vote on his capacity to labour. But, according to Gandhiji, a man who has worked for ten hours in a factory for the benefit of the capitalist has not laboured enough to deserve a vote and must add another half hour's labour at the charka for the benefit of the country. With such a conception of a 'labour franchise,' we cannot agree.

"Gandhiji's second suggestion is for the stricter enforcement of the clause requiring habitual wearing of Khaddar. That clause and the manner in which it has worked, have already led to more dishonesty in Congress elections than any other single factor. If, on the other hand, it is honestly enforced, it will keep out of the Congress all those who cannot afford Khaddar as their habitual dress and the Congress will become a purely middle-class organisation.

"The third amendment which Gandhiji proposes to move is to substitute the words 'truthful and non-violent means' for the words 'legitimate and peaceful means' in the Congress creed. Nobody will object to the desirability of adhering to certain ethical standards in the course of our struggle for freedom, but when one looks at the reasons advanced by Gandhiji for the change, one is inclined to ask whither the Congress is drifting. The Mahatma says : 'I have entered political life in pursuit of this search (for truth). I say that this search necessarily includes complete independence and many other things which may be part of Truth.'

"Having said that, Gandhiji very rightly proceeds to observe: 'I have begun to doubt if all Congressmen understand the same thing by the expression, complete independence.' In fact, there is

cause for more than a mere doubt. As with complete independence, so too with Truth. It is a relative term and means different things to different people. To us, it seems that Truth, if it means anything at all in a political contest, must mean the freedom of our country and the liberation of the masses of our people from all exploitation.'

"Gandhiji's statement has, in fact raised the fundamental question: What is the Indian National Congress and for what is it striving? Is it a mass organisation striving for the political liberation of this nation from alien rule, or is it a spiritual sect with a leader who says: 'Satya or Truth is my God' and following that leader in a search for Truth which he 'cannot suspend for anything in this world or another'? If the Congress is not to renounce its leadership of the struggle for National Independence against British Imperialism, there can be only one answer to this question and that the Congress will remain a political organisation and will refuse to be drawn into ethical or metaphysical abstractions.

'The fourth amendment suggested by Gandhiji, that for restricting the number of delegates to the Congress session to 1,000, is merely one of constitutional machinery, and considered by itself there is something to be said for it. But taken in conjunction with the preceding amendments, it justifies the fear, that by depriving minorities of adequate representation, it may serve as an instrument for enthroning in the Congress a dictatorship of expert spinners and searchers after Truth.

"Mahatma Gandhi claims to be a democrat. Members of the Congress Socialist Movement feel, however, that they too are true to their ideology, and that they are prepared to be in opposition in what they, like him, recognise to be 'the most powerful and the most representative organisation in the country.' And just as they accept the majority verdict and are prepared to await the conversion of the majority of Congressmen to their ideology, so too they would appeal to Gandhiji to accept the majority decision, whether or not it is palatable to him.

"If, however, Gandhiji adheres to his ultimatum, the duty of all those who are out to get Independence is to reject Gandhiji's undemocratic demands at the risk of losing his valuable leadership for the time being. The Congress is greater than even Mahatma Gandhi."

INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC IN ARMS

By Spectator

Senator P. Gerald Nye has been singularly successful. As a fair-minded statesmen who could not tolerate international humbug in any form, he persuadsd the U, S. Senate to appoint a Special Committee to carry on investigations into the munitions industry. Unceasing and powerful efforts were made to hold the proceedings in camera, at least for military reasons. But Roosevelt definitely set his face against such suppression and has ordered that all Government records should be made available to the public. He is right in our opinion, to have insisted on the dirty linen being washed in public.

The investigations reveal beyond doubt the international conspiracy of war-mongers to profit at the expense of the world. Governments, statesmen, munition-makers, powerful combines and even monarchs appear to have been inextricably inter-connected with this bloody traffic.

The Navy Department under Hoover vitally associated itself with American munition-makers to sell guns to Turkey. Evidence was recorded revealing the secret of Cuban revolutions in which both the Government and the revolutionaries were supplied with American arms. The Bolivia-Paragnay dispute, the warfare between Columbia and Peru and the entire South American imbroglio appear to have been inspired and sustained by the competitive animosities of British and U. S. munition-makers.

An American Government's anti-aircraft plan appears to have been secretly furnished to the Polish Government by munition-makers. The detailed interfercnee of U. S. under Hoover, in the South American warfare was clearly brought out. An intimate connection with Germany was also revealed and vigorously protested against but to no purpose.

Sir Basil Zagoroff, the mystery man of Europe and a cousin of the deposed Alfonso of Spain, was represented to have 'double-crossed' American munition-makers whose representative he was on the continent. How American neutrality in 1916 was a mere myth also got exposed in the proceedings when it was revealed that America sent military equipment to Italy through a factory rented at Montreal in Canada. That Mexico, Switzerland, and a host of other nations were deeply involved in this traffic was also brougt to light. The American Armament Corporation, it was told, was advised by a state official to question the legality of Roosevelt's enbargo on arms shipments to Paraquay and Bolivia.

A serious allegation against Great Britain was made that a London Armament Company on behalf of the British Government

wrote to the American Armament Corporation requesting them to dispose of about £ 6,00,000 worth of small arms left over from the War. The letter written so recently as March last appears to have suggested the purchase by U.S.A. of these arms for delivery to China for use against her enemy.

The usual practice of bribing for orders going under the distinguished name of 'Commission' was disclosed in its nakedness.

The open way in which these investigations are carried on have drawn forth protests from Britain, Germany, Poland, Argentine, Chile and Holland, and also a number of foreign firms concerned in the 'Deal.' But Roosevelt determined to carry on and treated these protests with the contempt they deserved.

The findings of this enquiry are awaited by the world with great interest, as it is expected to reveal the methods, and practices of world capitalism in all their nakedness.

WORLD DAY BY DAY

INLAND NEWS.

Calcutta, July.—Mr. N. R. Sircar has been elected Mayor of Calcutta Corporation.

Allahabad, July 12.—Swaraj Bhavan which was in the hands of the government was handed over to the trustees.

July 14.—Sardar Vallabhabhi Patel was released from Nasik jail.

Lahore, July 16.—Dr. Alam resigned from the Congress working committee.

Vellore, July 20.—Mukunda Lal Sircar and Gopala Shastri, prisoners in the Madras conspiracy case were convicted for 2 months for infringement of jail rules.

Ellore, July 25.—Andhra Provincial Socialist pary was formed and a resolution protesting against the Congress working committees' resolutions were passed.

July 26.—Bombay government has launched a prosecution against eight labour leaders concerned in the last textile strike. The charge is that the demands formulated by them were not legitimate.

July 27.—N. L. Jaiwant, a Labour leader was sentenced to 1½ years R. I. at Nagpur.

* * *

Gandhiji met the Socialists at Benares and while speaking to them, he said that either the socialists should obey the Congress or take charge of the executive.

July 28.—M. S. Aney and Malaviyaji resigned from the Congress parliamentary board.

July 29.—Communist organisations in India banned.

July 31.—Mr. R. D. Bharadwaj, Secretary of B. B. & C. I. Ry. union was sentenced to 2 years and 3 months R. I.

Aug. 7.—Gandhiji began his fast of 7 days.

Aligarh.—The student of the Aligarh University passed a resolution that Socialism was the only solution to avert communal deadlock.

Aug. 12.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was released temporarily to enable him to see his wife.

Aug 14.—Gandhiji broke his fast of 7 days.

Madras.—The order forfeiting the security of the Tamil paper 'Gandhi' was set aside by the High Court of Madras.

* * *

A motion was brought in the Burma Legislative Council for a vote of censure on the government for misusing the civil and military force but it was ruled out.

Bombay. Aug. 15.—Two labour leaders were sentenced to 2 years R. I. each for sedition.

Calcutta, Aug. 19.—The Nationalist party was formed under the presidentship of Pandit Malavia.

Madras.—The Madras District political conference was held in the Congress house.

Allahabad, Aug. 23.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was re-arrested and taken to prison.

* * * *

The Allahabad District Congress committee passed a resolution asking the provincial Congress committee that no candidate should be allowed to stand on behalf of the Congress.

Aug. 25—Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer withdrew his Temple entry bill as there was strong opposition.

* * * *

Out of the 76 members of the provincial Congress committee of Kerala 40 are Socialists.

Amritsar, Aug. 27.—A large number of weavers have gone on strike owing to the cut in wages.

Calcutta, Aug. 31.—The Modern Review has been asked to furnish a security of Rs. 1000.

Madras, Sept. 2.—There was a clash between Hindus and Mohamedans at Triplicane beach in which 17 were injured.

Sept. 9.—The compromise talk between the nationalist party led by Malaviaji and the Congress working committee broke down.

Sept 10.—Amir Hyder Khan alias Shanker was ordered to be interned in Coimbatore Jail by the Government under the Madras State prisoners Regulation of 1819.

Delhi, Sept 12.—A meeting of the District Congress socialists party was held in which the orthodox socialists maintained that they are not to participate in the elections but others passed a resolution giving freedom to members in this matter.

* * * *

Of the accused in the Lebong shooting case three have been condemned to death and the rest convicted to various terms of imprisonment.

Sept. 20.—Gandhiji issued a statement saying that he would move certain amendments to the Congress constitution at its Bomboy session and if they are not accepted by the Congress he would retire from leadership.

Sept. 23.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was brought out of the jail to his house and allowed to be with his wife for 2 hours and then taken to jail.

Sept. 24.—The Socialists of Bombay have issued a manifesto replying to Gandhiji's statement threatening to retire from the Congress if certain conditions are not fulfilled.

Madras, Sept. 26. — The Madras young workers League was declared unlawful by the Madras government.

Madras. Sep 29 and 30.—The Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference was held at Coimbatore under the presidency of C. Rajagopalachariar. The main resolution of that Conference recommended a compromise between the extreme demands of Gandhiji and the impracticability of the yarn franchise for ordinary congressmen by confining the yarn franchise to the members of the executive in all Congress organisations.

* *

The South Indian Liberal Federation met in conference at Madras under the presidency of the Raja of Bobilli.

FOREIGN NEWS.

July 4.—The Rumanian Government has ordered the dissolution of all the Nazi organizations.

July 6.—In the Longshore men's strike at San Fancisco twenty strikers were shot dead by the police.

Rotterdan.—Police arrested the president and three executive members of the Independent socialist party.

Berlin, July 12.—The supreme court of Leipzig sentenced all the commnnists to various terms of imprisonment.

Windlock, July 13.—Hitler movement in South West Africa has been declared illegal and its leader has been arrested.

San Fancisco, July 17.—A general strike was started involving 1,50,000 strikers.

Paris, July 18—The Socialist party has approved of a motion for a common front with communists to combat Fascism.

July 25.—The Austrian Nazis captured the chancellerie and shot Dr. Dolfuss dead.

Aug. 1.—President Hindenburg of Germany died.

Aug 2—Her Hitler by a cabinet law combined the offices of president and the chancellor in himself.

Berlin, Aug. 21.—Some communists who were sentenced in the Reichstag fire trial were released.

Berlin, Aug. 29.—Some of the foreigners who are suspected to be communists have been asked to quit Germany forthwith.

Berlin Aug. 30.—A drastic order has been issued requiring the dissmissal of all unmarried persons from public as well as private employment.

Berlin Sep 1.—762 prisoners, mostly communists and former members of social democratic party were released.

Sep 4.—Textile strike has begun in America and it is spreading to all parts of America.

Berlin Sep. 7.—50 communists have been arrested by the police.

Cuba, Sep. 12.—There was a fight between the communists and the troops in which several were injured and 27 people arrested.

U. S. A. The textile strikers attacked the mills in one place and the police came in. In the fight that followed 3 were shot dead 143 and injured.

Sep. 17.—Russia has accepted the invitation of the League of nations.

Vienna, Sep. 19.— 80 Communists have been arrested.

.**Sep. 21**.—Ths United States textile strike has ended.

NOTES & COMMENTS

Socialism and the Congress

Aim of Socialism

In the midst of the prevailing misconception and misrepresentation about the position of the socialists, it is worth while to re-iterate it at some length and to attempt to clarify it if we can. Socialism is nothing but a reconstruction of society aiming at fair and equitable distribution of the wealth of the country among the masses; and for that purpose the socialists want among other things the nationalisation of most of the resources and means of production, exchange and distribution in the country, so that they can be utilised for common social ends. Every individual composing the nation has to be provided with work and every one has to be fed, clothed, housed and nourished physically mentally, morally and intellectually in a proper manner so as to create a healthy society. Can the working committee of the Congress deny that these are just causes?

* * *

Its implications and process

Nationalisation will involve the abolition of the motive power of all private profit and greed; and that will lead to the elimination of private ownership of property which is used for exploitation of the masses. The socialists do not consider this process a crime or such a disaster as to shed tears over it. If one goes deeper into the subject, it will be found, that private property is itself largely connected with organised system of plunder. The wealth of a country is produced by the toiling peasants and labourers. The major portion of this wealth is taken away—confiscated in effect—from the hands of these producers by a non-working exploiting class which gives to the former only a little of the fruits of their own labour and appropriates a lion's share to itself. On this confiscated wealth is based all the civilisation of the present day with all the luxury and social codes of the parasitical class. That is why we find in India, as elsewhere, poverty in the midst of plenty and the evil effects of exploitation of the poor by the rich in the shape of misery, crime, starvation and stunting of humanity. If at all there is any confiscation, it is the other way about; and it is the possessing class that is really guilty of it. Socialism aims at preserving and utilising for the producing masses, the fruits of their labour and at preventing their confiscation by the exploiting class. Can the Congress which claims to work for the masses deny this is a just cause? Can it oppose the necessary prevention of this exploitation or confiscation in effect?

* * *

Two kinds of private ownership.

With a view to remove the misconception relating to the nature of the property, the ownership of which is sought to be removed, we would reiterate, that the private property to be abolished according to socialistic ideas is that kind of private ownership of property which is used for the exploitation of the masses and for profit. The

socialists do not aim at abolition of that kind of private ownership in property and personal belongings which are intended solely for personal use or consumption.

* * *

What is wanted?

In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru "if we are to improve the condition of the masses, to raise them economically and give them freedom, it is inevitable that vested interests in India will have to give up their special position and many of their privileges. It is inconceivable how else the masses can rise. Therefore the problem of achieving freedom becomes one of revising vested interests in favour of the masses. To the extent this is done, to that extent only will freedom come"......"**We do not wish to injure any class or group and the de-vesting should be done as gently as possible and with every effort to avoid injury. But it is obvious that the de-vesting is bound to cause loss to the classes or groups which enjoy special privileges. It is also obvious that the process of de-vesting must be as speedy as possible to bring relief to the masses whose condition is as bad as it can be.**"

* * *

Conversion or compelling pressure

For the sake of Gandhiji and people of his way of thinking, by all means, let 'conversion' be tried instead of 'coercion.' But we are afraid that the theory of trusteeship of the possessing classes, the possibility of their heart and nobler instincts being touched and their being converted to deal justly or generously with the exploited masses—all these are not very different, in their barren results, from the pathetic and futile faith of the liberal leaguers and the petition making Congress of old on the trusteeship of Britain over India or on the noble and free traditions and generosity of the former towards the latter. Even the Gandhian Satyagraha has not so far resulted in touching the heart of the rulers of the country. Is it not a fact, that what appeared to be something of an achievement as a result of the first campaign of the last civil disobedience movement, was due more to the intensive boycott of British goods which told heavily on British imports particularly in cloth, than to the technical or symbolical and spectacular civil disobedience in manufacturing contraband salt? Was there any violence in the ordinary sense of the term in the pressure of that boycott? Compelling pressure need not necessarily be violence.

* * *

Capitalism is the same everywhere

The spacious plea that in India, we do not have the excessive capitalism of the highly industrialised west and that the charitable traditions of the country, the conception of trusteeship of the possessing class and the theoretical and scriptural obligations imposed upon them in the use of their wealth will obviate the necessity for the advent of socialism, will not hold water for a moment if

one were to look into the actual facts. To take only one instance, if these things were true, conditions in the most important industry of this country namely textile manufacture in mills ought to be ideal. On the contrary, the reverse happens to be the case with it. With all the history and experience of other countries before him and with the great, noble and charitable traditions of this country behind him, the exploiting capitalist of the less industrialised India has not been found to be more human, generous or just than his brother of the more industrialised countries.

* * *

Uncalled for resolutions of the Congress Working Committee.

The socialists have never construed the Karachi resolutions as implying confiscation of private property. As we have pointed out in the previous issue of our journal they were only too well aware of those resolutions being far away from real socialism; and that is why the attempts of Dr. Ansari and his friends at Patna to show them up as satisfying the requirements of the socialists failed to carry conviction. In the face of the clear and pronounced attitude of socialists we do not quite see why the working committee should have resorted to an uncalled for explanation of those resolutions and to unwarrantedly charge the socialists with indulging in 'loose talks about confiscation of private property and the necessity of class war' (as if the latter is a new creation of theirs) and connecting and characterising the two in a rather mischievous manner as contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence.'

* * *

Class war

There is no new creation of class war and much less by socialists. It already exists and it cannot but exist. All production is for consumption by the producers and the aim of the producing masses is to vouchsafe for every individual all the necessaries of life by regulating and controlling production and distribution in the common interests of all the individuals composing the society. As it is now, those individuals or groups who control production and distribution, do it for filling their own pockets and amassing huge profits for the sake of profits at the expense of the producing masses. The conflict of interests and purposes as between the producing masses and the controlling classes is the class war and anybody who has eyes to see cannot deny an existing fact. It has simply to be recognised and reckoned with. The recognition of an existing and inevitable fact cannot by any stretch of imagination become violence.

Where there is a will there a way. Without any necessary use of violence the same forces of law and order that help to keep up the present form of society can be made to bring about nationalisation of resources and means of production and distribution and end the class war. If freedom from foreign domination can be hoped to be obtained through non-

violent Satyagraha or civil disobedience, what there is to prevent the necessary reconstruction of society also by non-violent means ?

* * *

Effect of the W. C. resolutions

We cannot help feeling that by these uncalled for resolutions, the working committee of the Congress has unwittingly played into the hands of those who delight in repression. It has prepared the affidavit as it were to set in motion the powers that be to deal with the socialists and thereby unconsciously repeated the game that was said to be played by the moderates of old against the so-called extremists of those days. It has also given room to undesirable speculations about the purpose of the sponsors of these resolutions. They had probably in their minds only the coming elections to the assembly and their concern about the voters being of the propertied and monied classes. Perhaps they do not look with favour upon the growing strength of the socialists in the Congress consisting mainly of the younger generation and the likelihood of their challenging the leadership of the elders in the interests of the masses. As is naturally to be expected in these circumstances they have resorted to this tactics of giving the dog a bad name and hanging it. In spite of our differences of opinion, we have too great respect to our elders to indulge unreservedly in such speculations. But we cannot help pointing out the mischief that has resulted perhaps from a hasty action under the influence of interested scare-mongers. At the same time this ought to serve as an incentive for the socialists to prove their mettle and earnestness before the next session of the Congress and to be circumspect in their word and deed.

* * *

' Practical Socialism '

Past and Present.

We are familiar in this country with a certain kind of mentality that can find satisfaction only in recounting the glories of the past and in imagining the existence in the past parallels to everything of modern phenomena. If you mention the aeroplane as an achievement of modern science the amiable person of that mentality will at once wax eloquent over the existence of the aerial cars or 'Vimanas' of the Tretayuga. If you talk of the features of socialism of today you will find him tracing out all or most of them in our ancient forms of society and habits and customs. The idea of the benevolent trusteeship of the possessing classes in respect of their wealth will invarirbly be traced to the scriptures and trotted out as ideal state of affairs. But he is not likely to consider whether in our actual life of the present day we have either the desirable modern things or their ancient parallels in reality.

* * * *

Self-complaisance

It is no surprise then that eminent peolpe including a leading liberal leaguer should find in the theoretical and scriptural obligations expected of the possessing

classes and individuals towards heir less fortunate brethren by way of charities and doles feeding of the poor etc. the implications of much of 'practical socialism.' It is usual for people of that mentality to assume and deplore the want of adequate study, thought and understanding about the implications and aweful consequences of modern socialism on the part of the enthusiasts who, according to them, must of course be attempting to apply to Indian conditions theories of other nations based on their special characteristics. To them India is always a peculiar country with none of the common defects of other countries.

* * * *

Dead traditions

These estimable personages of enviable self-complaisancy forget, if we may say so, one or two fundamental factors. The theoretical and scriptual obligations of generosity, charity etc., are only dead traditions honoured more in their breach than in their observance. No propaganda or legislation can revive in toto the spirit and mentality of the past. It is said that even in these degenerate days one can find the existence of such benevolent features of the past, thereby obviating the necessity for the introduction of any modern conception of socialism. If only one knows how charities are being administered, how properties that were originally intended for charities and public benefit have long ago been and are being coolly appropriated as private property and how courts of law are flooded with litigation over such charities and properties, one cannot get much encouragement that all is well in that direction. The increasing quarrels and litigation among members of the same families too on account of the inordinate greed of individuals do not give much hope of a desirable state of affairs or 'much practical socialism'.

* * * *

Charity and inherent right

Even if private charity is being properly doled out, it is not worth while to have it. The ancient method, though good enough for those days had always implied a condescending temperament on the part of the donor in giving away a negligible modicum of exploited wealth, with the natural corrollary of an inferiority complex bordering on the mentality of a grateful slave on the part of the receiver of the dole. Even then there was no guarantee that every member of the possessing class or even an appreciable number of them had the necessary and uniform generosity and condescension much less sense of duty and that every poor man could find sure and lifelong means of sustenance in the doles of the classes. The modern conception of things and aim are to ensure for every one composing the society his or her legitimate share in the necessaries of life from all available resources, without fear or favour in his or her own inherent right and without exception. The two situations and circumstances are poles apart.

* * *

GANDHIJI AND CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

Political freedom and ethical Values

The recent statement of Mahatma Gandhi regarding his leadership of the Congress is as usual characteristic of his unique personality in its extreme candour and heart-searching. He is a rare leader who has among other things, galvanised the Indian Nation with a new spirit of hope and courage, sacrifice and self-reliance and who has made the national movement for freedom permeate the masses. He has also attempted to lift politics from its ordinary associations into a higher plane of idealism. In the nature of things, he is too far above thc average humanity to be concious that the surging tide of the great national movement, because of its very premeation among the masses, is likely to take in much of their strength and weaknesses. Whatever might be Gandhiji's own view of his mission in life and of his experiments with 'truth' and reformation of humanity at large, the intelligentia and the masses follow him implicitly, more because, they find in his personality a powerful and handy instrument to help them to get political freedom and less because of anything else. They are willing to pay any price for his political leadership, including formal acquiescence to his exacting behests even in matters of personal faith and religion, which according to many of them do not appear to be relevant at all for the political purpose and in which many of them can never hope to agree with him. Self-purification and researches into relative and metaphysical conceptions of truth etc. according to Gandhian ideas are in the nature of things reserved only for a few select mortals and can never be expected to be attempted by large masses as such at any clime or country, either in connection with or as a prelude to a fight for political freedom. However much it maybe desirable and necessary too, to clean ourselves up often in our aims and methods, the available resources in men and material have to be taken for what they are worth and made the best possible use of, instead of constantly finding fault with and desparing of their failings and weaknesses.

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Amendments won't solve the problem

Even if all the amendments to the Congrees constitution suggested by Gandhiji are accepted by the Bombay session, it is doubtful whether he will be able to realise his object. With regard to the spinning franchise, it is a well known fact, that it was tried once and found unworkable. Nobody then was more anxious than Mahatmaji to get rid of that anomaly. How the same could be improved now is a problem. Mahatmaji should not carry his tests of political humanity too far. If he does so at the ensuing session of the Congress, many of his staunch followers being anxious to retain his leadership at any cost may vote for any reform that he suggets. But it is doubtful whether with the best of intentions even they will be able to carry them

info practice and history will repeat itself. The very success of the spinning franchise resolution will be a sure defeat of his intended moral purpose. Apart from this, however much it may be desirable to reform the Congress constitution so as to have more effective representation of the masses and workability of the machinery, the proposed restriction of the franchise to a coterie of spinners will be a negation of democracy. Gandhiji's desire to substitute 'truth and non-violence' for 'peaceful and legitimate' smacks more of metaphysical distinctions than of understandable and workable means of expression in political methods adapted for the masses. It is no wonder that few congressmen are enthusiastic about these amendments nnd that the Socialists are fundamentally opposed to them.

* * * *

Consequences of Gandhiji's Ultimatum

The ensuing session of the Congress will most probably see a keen triangular fight as between the official Congress, the National party of Malaviyaji and the Socialists. In spite of all these warring factions, many people will be interested in retaining if possible Gandhiji's leadership. At the present moment the interests of the country require that he should not force any further divisions in the Congress by his proposed amendments to the Congress constitution, and he should be persuaded accordingly. If he still insists on his ultimatum, he will in an unnecessary and unfair manner compel considerable sections of Congressmen to choose between him and what they think to be the requirements of the present political fight. If again as a consequence he is obliged to give up his leadership, the country may have to pass through a temporary phase of anxiety and uncertainty, till circumstances evolve out a desirable plan as well as a powerful leader.

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Tact and Timeliness

In conclusion, we cannot help remarking, that even attempts to spiritualise politics and to prove the extreme interdependence of politics and other personal and ethical factors in national life according to Gandhian ideas have a limit and should not be allowed to be carried too far at critical moments and at the expense of tact and timeliness in doing things. It is a pity that Gandhiji who has shown himself at times to be capable of highly strategic moves and decisions and accomodation to the prevailing forces and tendencics should now be responsible for plunging the country into a vortex of unnecessary discussion and heat over minor issues and distract the nation's attention from its main political struggle including the election campaign in the shaping of which he himself has taken a lion's share. It is a misfortune of the country that of late, the nation's attention and energies that are to be concentrated on its main struggle to get political freedom should be divided and dissipated more than once by subsidiary problems which might well be left over for more congenial occasions than now.

Tamil Nadu Political Conference

In this connection, the lead given by the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference at Coimbatore is worth noting. A resolution of that Conference suggests a compromise between the excessive demands of Gandhiji and the actual impracticability of the yarn franchise. It seeks to confine the spinning rule to the members of the executive committee and relieve the ordinary members of that onerous duty. While it suggests a way of getting over a difficulty in its anxiety to retain Gandhiji's leadership it does not give any permanent and desirable solution. In the first place it is doubtful whether Gandhiji will accept it. Secondly we are not sure whether even this suggestion is workable. Thirdly the socialists are fundamentally opposed to this yarn franchise.

While such is the situation beset on all sides with difficulties there are only two alternatives for the country. One is to declare unequinocally against the proposed Franchise at once and face boldly the risk of losing Gandhiji's political leadership ofthe Congress. The other is to postpone the consideration of the matter to a later and more congenial occasion than now in view of the preoccupation of the country with the assembly elections. The The latter course was suggested by Mr. Satyamurthi in his amendment to postpone the whole affair and the conference would have done well to adopt it. But it was rejected. It is significant that another amendment suggesting the adoption of Gandhi's demands in to to was also defeated. Under the circumstances what may on the face of it appear to be a desirable lead of the Coimbatore Conference is not really any help to improve the situation.

At the same time we congratulate the oimbatore conferencc on having adopted a resolution which sought to take a step in advance of the Karachi resolutions on fundamental rights. True it still falls short of socialism proper. But all the same it is indicative of the growing tendency and sympathy in favour of socialism.

Political Sufferers' Conference

We welcome the idea of holding a political sufferers' conference at Madras as a timely and necessary one. The objects of the conference according to the organisers are :—

(1) to give an opportunity to all political sufferers to meet together and review the present political situation in the country.

(2) To consider the steps to be taken in the ensuing congress at Bombay for the effective representation of the views of the political sufferers.

(3) To establish a political sufferers' bureau in order to give relief to the needy discharged prisoners and render such help as is possible to other political workers engaged in constructive work.

It goes without saying that the problem of the thousands of political sufferers who staked everything for the country during the last C. D. movement is an acute one. They have neither the satisfaction of having seen the dawn of a new era of freedom as a result of their sacrifice nor any

definite and forward programme of work for the realisation of the country's objective. The problem of existence for most of these people who sacrificed their all without minding the consequences during the last fight is also to be reckoned with. In a country's fight for freedom, though every one cannot be expected to be in the front war line it is absolutely necessary for the non-fighters to stand by the men on the front and help and encourage them in all possible ways. But unfortunately, that sense of helpful and continuous comradeship as between the two sections has not been sufficiently developed. The non-fighters are indifferent if not not callously negligent of their duty towards their fighting brethren. It is not a healthy sign for any country and much less for a country situated like ours. Hence we need not over-emphasise the importance of such a conference in its attempt to remind the people of their sense of duty and responsibility in an important matter connected with political sufferers.

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Future of Anglo Indians.

Addressing a gathering of Anglo Indians of the city last week. Sir Henry Cidney, the accredited leader of the community, gave a few wholesome words of advice which the members of the community might well take to heart. "Future India," he said, "will be an India quite different from the one in which we have lived. Your future, your progress and your opportunities will depend entirely on the attitude you adopt towards your Indian fellow-countrymen. Realise that you are sons and daughters of this country, that India is your home and that when you talk of going 'home' you are really going away from it. Be proud of this our common Motherland. Remember you are one with your Indian brethren. If only you will cultivate the sterner qualities which the future India will recognise give up the silly idea of being a superior people and live on friendly terms with Indians you will be serving your own interests best." Fine words these, and wholesome too! But mere friendliness is not enough. The mass of Anglo-Indians are no better off than the poorest among the rest of the Indian people. The majority of them are waging a desperate and Spartan struggle to maintain a decent standard of life. And the odds are against them in this struggle as much as they are against other people. The causes for this are the same. It is no use their placing faith in the British securing for them a privileged position in this country. As Sir Henry has pointed out that is not possible. The mass of the Anglo Indians must recognise that the cause of their misery and poverty is also the cause of the misery and poverty of the rest of the people. They must make common cause with all those people in India who are fighting for a more human order of things. In this lies their future. Their "friendliness" must become really a "comradeliness" in the struggle ahead. The fact, therefore, of the great co-operation which Anglo Indian workers in Indian workshops and factories are offering to the other workers

is of momentous significance. It is in the common fight against exploitation that workers of all creeds, faiths, castes and nationalities are welded into one army fighting for the liberation of all the exploited and toiling masses.

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U. S. War Debts

The British 'note' to United States on the June instalment of War Debts was surely a provoking piece. It vas nothing more than an admirable epitome of the December note. And one wonders what Britain and U.S.A. have been doing all these six months for the position to have remained exactly what it was in December last. Obviously, the American Government are at a loss to discover any means which can facilitate the payment of the debts due by Great Britain and the other countries, all of which, save honest Finland, have defaulted their June payments. The United States at the same time do not have the least intention of cancelling them. This is evident from the recent legislation forbidding the granting of new loans to defaulting nations, which means, that the United States will take other means, if necessary, for bringing pressure on the defaulting countries to make a settlement of the debts agreeable to America. Further the "aggressive" tone of the American reply to the Brittsh note is quite justified. The United States Government are right in insisting that the debts due by Britain to the United States are completely independent of the debts due by the allies to Britain. They have legitimately expressed their disappointment with the declaration in the British note which says :—

"While suspending further payments until it becomes possible to discuss an ultimate settlement of inter-govermental war debts with a reasonable prospect of agreement, they (the British Government) have no intention of repudiating their obligations and will be prepared to enter upon further discussion on the subject at any time when, in the opinion of the President such discussion would be likely to produce results of value". Only one construction can be placed on this statement and that is that the British Goverment will continue to default until the American Goverment "first scale down their debt to an unascertained sum to which Britain might be willing to accede. The American reply while taking exception to this threatening tone has suggested settlement of debts by payments in kind, a proposal which has not been received with any noticeable alacrity by the British Government. That is excusable, for payments in kind are no less easy than payments in money, and, if they free the debtor country from one difficulty, they create other difficulties related to buying of the commodities for payments in kind. It is a thorny problem and the sooner it is solved the better for the countries concerned and for the world. But the easy way of cancellation which Britain, apparently, wishes America to take, does not look as commendable in American eyes as it looks reasonable for the British people.

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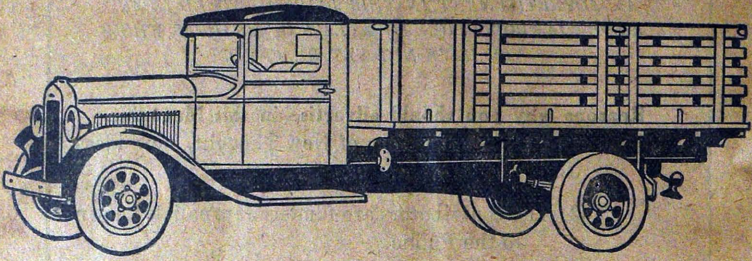

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